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Language attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan in autochthonous and immigrant families in Catalonia: analysing the correlation between student attitudes and their parents'

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Introduction

Language attitudes are widely accepted as a key component in the development of identity and the promotion of integration of individuals in society (Alarcón and Parella 2013; Cots et al. 2010; Ianos et al. 2015; Lapresta and Huguet 2008). The field has attracted considerable attention in the past few years since language attitudes can be a determining factor to facilitate the inclusion of immigrants in the host culture and the modelling of more tolerant behaviours towards multilingualism at the school.

The case of Catalonia is particularly interesting since it has become a major receptor of immigrants in Spain and in Europe: today, Catalonia is the Spanish territory

receiving the largest number of newcomers, with 1,025,812 foreign residents in 2015, which accounts for 13.7% of the total population in the region (Spanish National Statistics Institute 2015). The number of immigrants increased from 2.9% in 2000 to 14.4% in 2014¹, with most immigrants coming from Europe (32.1%), Africa (28.1%), and Latin America (26.7%). These migration flows have resulted in significant socio-demographic changes in the adolescent population in the region: the non-Spanish population younger than 19 increased by 30.4% between 2006-2013, climbing from 188,259 to 245,441. All in all, the characteristics of Catalonia and the dynamic evolution of the territory have turned the region into a multilingual and multicultural area (Bernaus et al. 2004) and a real ‘linguistic and cultural patchwork’ (Bernaus, Moore, and Cordeiro 2007). In this scenario, a better understanding of language attitudes is of paramount importance, as claimed by Ianos, Huguet, and Lapresta (2016), who argue that ‘in order to face the social, linguistic, and educational challenges created by the migratory movements, it is essential to understand the attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish of those involved’. The analysis of language attitudes is critical in Catalonia due to the sociolinguistic complexity of the area, where “the dichotomy between majority and minority may prove to be very often ambiguous, or even contradictory”, as purported by Boix and Paradís (2015, 167), who challenge the existence of a mainstream language group and emphasize the current continuum in language varieties. The sociolinguistic scenario in Catalonia is determined by its diversity, which has been accentuated by the arrival of migration flows (Comajoan 2004; Trench-Parera 2013), and the progressive de-ethnicization of Catalan (Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015; Trench-Parera and Newman 2009) with a

¹ Catalan Statistics Institute: <http://www.idescat.cat/>. Accessed on October 17th 2016.

subsequent decrease in the ethnolinguistic polarization of the territory (Vila, Sorolla, and Larrea 2013).

Language attitudes are commonly regarded as a basic tool for the development of multilingual and multicultural environments (Baker 1992; Bernaus et al. 2004; Cenoz 2001; Garret 2010) and, in fact, the case of Catalonia has been extensively investigated to analyse language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish (Bernaus, Moore, and Cordeiro 2007; Ianos et al. 2015; Lapresta, Huguet, and Fernández-Costales 2016; Newman, Patiño-Santos, and Trenchs-Parera 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009). However, possible variations between the language attitudes within the same family unit have been largely ignored in the scientific literature: so far, the differences between parents' and their children's attitudes remain relatively unexplored in the Spanish framework. We feel this is a gap in the research on language attitudes that clearly deserves further investigation since parents' attitudes and the family environment may contribute to the modelling of students' language attitudes.

This paper is intended to contribute to the understanding of language attitudes by analysing the possible differences within local and immigrant families living in Catalonia towards the two official languages of the region: Spanish and Catalan. The study proposes to introduce new insights by determining whether or not the family environment (i.e. parents' influence) might model the language attitudes of students.

Theoretical framework

Language attitudes are understood as an emotional and intellectual response of individuals towards languages, dialects, and accents of speakers of their social context that represents a relevant element of all language communities (Trudgill 2003).

Individuals develop perceptions and attitudes towards languages, which can represent 'an object being seen as favourable or unfavourable' (Baker 1992, 11).

Speakers' attitudes to languages have been a core element in the study of language learning since the seminal works by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972). So far, extensive research has been devoted to the analysis of the impact that language attitudes have on language competence (Dewaele 2005; Dörnyei and Clément 2001; Gardner 1985, 2001; Gardner and MacIntyre 1993; Huguet and Madariaga 2005; Lambert 1975), the role of language attitudes in the language learning process together with motivation (Bernaus, Moore, and Cordeiro 2007; Dörnyei and Csizér 2002; Skehan 1989), or the possible impact of this construct in the acquisition of foreign or second languages (Huguet and González-Riaño 2004; Lasagabaster 2003, 2005; Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Siguán and Mackey 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

As for how language attitudes are shaped, it is worth mentioning that – as an integral part of general attitudes – language attitudes are modelled according to three main elements, as described by Huguet and González-Riaño (2004, 20):

A) Personal needs: attitudes are related to individual expectations and the benefits or advantages people expect to achieve with particular actions.

B) Social group: the group will exert some influence on the individual, which can be explained according to the following grounds: the need to keep the social cohesion of the group, the need for approval, and the admission criteria to enter the group. Among other agents, the social group includes the close environment of individuals (i.e. family, friends, and workmates).

C) The information subjects have access to: principal sources of information are formal education, social mass media (press, the Internet, TV, etc.), direct experiences (travelling, personal events and experiences, etc.).

In fact, the importance of the family language background in the modelling of language attitudes has already been underlined by Baker (1992), who considered that

language attitudes within the family – and the predominant language used by its members – was a nuclear element to understand how language attitudes are conformed in early stages.

Together with these elements, other factors have been identified as key agents in the formation process of language attitudes. The place of birth is one of the variables reported to affect language attitudes of local and immigrant population, as empirical data confirm that autochthonous and immigrant students have different attitudinal patterns, with the former usually favouring Catalan and the latter Spanish (Bernaus et al. 2004; Lapresta et al. 2009; Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés 2010, 2016; Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta 2013; Rojo, Madariaga, and Huguet 2010). However, this view has been contested by studies emphasizing the wide variety of language attitudes in autochthonous and immigrant subjects (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009; Trench-Parera 2013), and the less polarized attitudes within local individuals (Pujolar and González 2013; Pujolar and Puigdevall 2015).

Age has also been identified as a modified element, and studies have concluded that language attitudes can change with the age (Baker 1992; Bernaus, Moore, and Cordeiro 2007; Dörnyei and Csizér 2002; Heining–Boynton and Haitema 2007). Hence, it is interesting to compare parents' and their children's attitudes towards languages to determine if differences between groups belonging to different generational cohorts within the same family can be identified.

Research has also shown that the language attitudes of the parents (and the family environment) do influence the shaping of attitudes in the case of students and their performance when learning second languages (González-Riaño, Hevia-Artime, and Fernández-Costales 2013; Hull 2002; Oliver and Purdie 1998; Sung and Padilla 1998). This finding is underpinned by Gardner's (1973) classical theoretical model that

established that learners of second languages displaying integrative motivation (where students are willing to learn a language to communicate with the destination culture as opposed to instrumental motivation, which is limited to practical purposes) usually come from families where the parents exhibit favourable attitudes to the language being learnt by their children. Essentially, the close relationship between parents' and children's language attitudes may suggest that they are developed at home before formal language learning starts (Huguet 2006; Sánchez and Rodríguez 1997, 133), an approach challenged by Boix and Paradís who claim that "there is not an explicit family language policy in the sense of a visible and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (2015, 167).

Finally, several authors have underlined the dynamic nature of language attitudes (Chambers 1999; Dörnyei 1994, Norton 2000). Assuming the premise that attitudes are dynamic and might change, language attitudes are not innate but learnt, and may be modified with experience (Baker 1988, 1992; Garret 2010; Huguet 2006; Ianos et al. 2015). According to this view, institutional, social, and educational actions – together with the influence of students' families – are deemed essential in the development of attitudes to a particular language: an example of this can be found in the study by Rodríguez-Neira (2000), who reported on the positive evolution of language attitudes towards Galician by local students. The legal recognition of Galician as an official language in the region led to better attitudes to the regional language by young autochthonous citizens. This vision is also supported by Trench-Parera and Patiño-Santos (2013), who concluded that school reception classes are fundamental in the configuration of language ideologies in young students. This premise is in line with the findings of Vila, Sorolla, and Larrea (2013), who stress the relevance of the education system in attaining linguistic integration.

The dynamic nature of language attitudes can cater for the differences, which research has consistently identified between local and immigrant students in the Spanish context. In this framework, Ibararán, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2008) report that immigrant students in the Basque Country have positive attitudes towards Spanish and English but are less favourable towards Basque; this situation does not tally with that of local students, which have favourable views on all three languages. Similarly, in Catalonia, Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta (2013) conclude that language attitudes of local students are more favourable towards Catalan, whereas immigrant students show better attitudes towards Spanish, underlining that the length of stay and age of arrival are the elements that moderate this effect.

Language attitudes have also been framed at the European level, with several studies reporting similar tendencies in various contexts. The contribution by Extra and Gorter (2001) underlined the complexity of the linguistic and cultural reality in European urban areas, and set the bases for cross-national studies offering empirical evidence on the relationship between language attitudes and teaching, a vision shared by Extra and Yağmur (2004).

Previous studies in the Catalan context

As has already been suggested, past research has concentrated on the relation between language attitudes and the presence of languages at school (see Comajoan et al. 2013; Trench-Parera and Patiño-Santos 2013; Vila, Sorolla, and Larrea 2013). However, the influence of family language attitudes on the perception of students towards languages has not received similar attention. In order to narrow down the research topic, this section will only discuss research that specifically deals with the language attitudes of local and immigrant students and their parents towards Catalan and Spanish.

Previous studies investigating language attitudes of autochthonous and immigrant students in Catalonia concluded that the former had more favourable attitudes towards Catalan and less positive attitudes towards Spanish than their immigrant counterparts (Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta 2013). The language attitudes of immigrants living in Catalonia seem to be mainly modulated by their place of birth, their mother tongue, and their language competence, and recent empirical research has also reported that self-identification is a relevant construct in the development of language attitudes and, when analysed jointly with the place of birth, the former variable outweighs the latter (Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés 2016).

In the scientific literature, there seems to be a clear difference between language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish of local and immigrant population: on the one hand, Woolard's study (2009) underlined that local students clearly prefer Catalan to Spanish, which was regarded as less formal and linked with lower socio-economic status; on the other hand, the main findings of the research conducted by Bernaus et al. (2004) and Bernaus, Moore and Cordeiro (2007) showed that immigrant students of Secondary Education in Barcelona had better attitudes towards Spanish and English with a lower perception on Catalan. These differences are explained by Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés (2010), who argue that the language development process is different for autochthonous and immigrant students: hence, the attitudes of local students are modelled by identity and the feeling of belonging to Catalan society (where Catalan is the most representative and iconic symbol), whereas immigrant students are driven by their desire to integrate in the society and achieve social and academic progress. However, this vision has been confronted by approaches maintaining that attitudes towards Catalan are linked to its social, economic, and cultural relevance. Mollà (2006), considers Catalan works as a social marker which is identified with progress and

prestige by new speakers. More recently, Boix and Paradís, in their study on ethnolinguistically mixed families in Catalonia, conclude that most catalanized new speakers “display a deep symbolic identification with the Catalan language” (2015, 182).

At this point, it is worth mentioning the study by Trench-Parera and Tristán (2014), who screened immigrant families living in Catalonia. The main findings were that Latin American families value Spanish higher than Catalan and consider English is the most relevant language to be learned due to its international dimension, although they acknowledge the relevance of Catalan for social interaction and their integration in the society. Parents’ attitudes towards Catalan are shaped by their labour environment and the social use (where language accommodation can be frequently spotted).

The aforementioned studies do not specifically address the possible correlation between student language attitudes and their parents’ as regards the two official languages in Catalonia. However, we did find theoretical approaches to this topic that suggest a relationship might exist: Huguet (2006) studied the language attitude of students of Secondary Education in two Spanish contexts related to Catalonia – the Principality of Asturias and the Catalan-speaking area of Aragon – concluding that the family language (i.e. the linguistic and cultural environment of the family) might determine students’ language attitudes (which can be further strengthened at the school). In other words, parents with better attitudes towards Catalan and Asturian are the ones who favour bringing their children to lessons of these two languages; therefore, according to Huguet (2006), the choice of attending Catalan or Asturian classes is not neutral. In this sense, if parents’ and students’ attitudes are similar, the teaching of languages can be reinforced from a motivational point of view. On the basis of these premises, our study is intended to narrow down the topic by specifically analysing the

role of the language context and the language attitudes of parents regarding the attitudes developed by local and immigrant students.

Objectives

Accounting for the aforementioned theoretical background, the objectives of the current research are as follows:

- 1) Assess the language attitudes towards the two languages spoken in Catalonia (Spanish and Catalan) by local and immigrant families.
- 2) Analyse if there are statistically significant differences between parents' and their children's (from local and immigrant origin) attitudes as regards languages in the region.
- 3) Explore if there is a correlation between parents' and their children's language attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan.
- 4) Where correlations are identified, compare the possible differences between parents' and their children's attitudes according to their origin (autochthonous or immigrant).
- 5) On the basis of the main results of the study, establish some implications which are relevant for the social and educational context in Catalonia.

Methodology

The current research has been conducted in Catalonia, an Autonomous Community in Spain where Catalan is a co-official language that coexists with Spanish, the state language in the country. Catalan was revitalised in the region after the return to Spanish democracy in 1978 and the approval of the Act of Linguistic Normalization of Catalonia, which was passed in 1983 and made a significant contribution to the reinvigoration of the language. Today, the current legal framework makes the teaching

of Catalan and in Catalan compulsory at the education system in the region (Comellas 2006; Turell 2000; Vila 1992).

As has already been noted, the migration flows have altered the demographic scenario of the region in the past few years: in 2015, the number of foreign citizens in Catalonia reached 1,025,812 according to official figures (Spanish National Statistics Institute 2015). Correspondingly, 163,139 immigrant children were enrolled in the Catalan education system in the academic year 2014 / 2015, such that 12.4% of the total student population in the region is of immigrant origin.

Sample of the study

The sample is composed of local and immigrant students of Secondary Education and their parents. In total, 476 students and their families were analysed (298 from Catalonia and 178 from abroad). Clearly, socio-economic differences can be established between local and immigrant families, with the latter coming from less favourable contexts. From a sociocultural point of view, 182 parents (124 autochthonous and 58 immigrants) have university degrees, while 294 have not attended university (174 locals and 120 immigrants). No statistically significant differences were observed according to sociocultural elements when analysing local and immigrant families.

To produce a balanced sample, the sampling process accounted for the distribution of immigrant population and the heterogeneity of the Catalan territory: hence, both urban and rural municipalities were included to better reflect the complex demographic situation in the area. Schools were chosen specifically to include immigrant students, following the advice of the Catalan education authorities. Participating schools were selected according to the following distribution: 2 from the city of Barcelona, 2 from the province of Barcelona, 1 from the city of Girona, 1 from the province of Girona, 1 from

the city of Tarragona, 1 from the province of Tarragona, 1 from the city of Lleida, and 1 from the province of Lleida. Table 1 shows the areas of origin for immigrant participants:

Table 1. Origin of immigrant families.

Regarding the selection of participants within the schools, all students enrolled in 2nd and 4th years of Secondary Education were selected. The final sample included 476 students: 273 girls and 203 boys. It is worth mentioning that no statistically significant differences were found as regards gender.

As for the mother tongue of the immigrant parents participating in our study, subjects have been grouped under ‘Spanish speaking’ (coming from Latin American countries) and ‘non-Spanish speaking’ (coming from Africa, Asia and Oceania, and Central Europe). The mother tongues of non-Spanish speaking parents are very distant between them and clearly distinct from Spanish and Catalan from a linguistic point of view. Regarding autochthonous parents, all participants screened in the current research are bilingual speakers of Catalan and Spanish.

Variables

The following variables have been considered in the analysis of results:

- A) Attitudes towards Spanish: variable with a range from -10 to +10, in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude, and +10 totally positive.
- B) Attitudes towards Catalan: variable with a range from -10 to +10, in which -10 is a totally negative attitude, 0 a totally neutral attitude, and +10 totally positive.
- C) Parents/students: this category groups participants in two categories (parents vs. their children).
- D) Origin of participants: a binary variable of local (Spanish) or immigrant.

Tool

The research tool used in this project was a sociolinguistic questionnaire intended to assess the language attitudes of participants. This survey was adapted from the tool developed by the Service for Teaching of Catalan (SEDEC), which is based on the work by Sharp et al. (1973). The sociolinguistic questionnaire used for this research has already been utilized in a number of papers by several authors working in related research lines (González-Riaño, Hevia-Artime, and Fernández-Costales 2013; Huguet et al. 2008; Lapresta et al. 2016; Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta 2013).

The questionnaire comprises twenty statements of dichotomous reply (yes / no): 10 items relate to attitudes towards Catalan and 10 to Spanish. The questions included in the survey are set to assess the attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan, for instance, by enquiring about participants' opinion on the presence of both languages at school, their affective response towards the use of these languages, the usefulness of Catalan and Spanish today, their social relevance and recognition, and so on.

Every question is scored +1 or -1, according to the favourable or unfavourable answer provided by participants. The sum yields a score ranging between -10 (a completely unfavourable attitude) and +10 (a completely favourable attitude), 0 being a completely neutral attitude. Reliability tests were carried out by means of the test-retest procedure with a two-month interval between both applications, obtaining a correlation of $r = .703$ ($p < .0001$). Validation of the scale revealed a Cronbach's Alpha of .783, showing a good level of homogeneity in the items of the survey.

Procedure

The validated questionnaire was answered by students individually. The students then delivered the survey to their parents, who submitted it to the research team once completed. Data were analysed with SPSS v.22. Descriptive statistics were estimated, together with t-tests to compare the means of the groups; finally, Pearson's r was estimated to assess the possible correlation between parents' and their children's language attitudes. Furthermore, effect sizes were calculated for focused effects (Field 2013; Kline 2004).

Analysis of results

Parents vs. students

First, we refer to the analysis of the perceptions of the whole sample towards the two languages. Table 2 reports on the results of attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish of local and immigrant families:

Table 2. Attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

The results show a positive inclination, since the means are rather high in all cases (the range of score is from -10 to +10). Therefore, it can be stated that the language attitudes of parents and students coming from local and immigrant backgrounds are positive towards the two languages present in the education system of Catalonia.

T-tests for related samples were used to compare the language attitudes of the parents with their children. Results show that parents (from local and immigrant origin) have more favourable attitudes towards Spanish ($t(475) = -8.16, p < .001, d = 0.44$) and worse attitudes in the case of Catalan ($t(475) = 3.13, p = .002, d = 0.17$) than their children.

Next, we analyse the correlation between parents' and students' language attitudes towards Spanish and Catalan. Table 3 shows the main results of this analysis:

Table 3. Attitudes of families towards Catalan and Spanish.

Table 3 shows a positive correlation in the case of attitudes towards Spanish: the better attitudes of the parents towards this language, the better attitudes of their children ($.29 p < 0.45$). Similarly, the same tendency can be identified as regards Catalan: the better attitudes from the parents, the better attitudes shown by their children ($.31 p < .001$). On the contrary, a negative correlation is observed: a less favourable attitude towards a language by the parents renders positive attitudes of their children towards the

other language. This is observed when parents have less favourable attitudes towards Spanish ($-.10$ $p=0.27$) and their children show better attitudes towards Catalan; similarly, when parents show less enthusiastic attitudes towards Catalan ($-.29$ $p<0.01$), their children have better attitudes towards Spanish. These results confirm the relation between the family context and the formation of language attitudes.

Autochthonous vs. immigrant

Next, we compare the results of local and immigrant participants. Table 4 shows the results of parents' and their children's attitudes according to their place of origin:

Table 4. Attitudes of local and immigrant participants towards Catalan and Spanish.

As can be seen, language attitudes are generally positive in the sample considered. However, it is worth noting two cases where the means are contrary to the overall results: the attitudes of immigrant parents towards Catalan (mean=3.17) are considerably lower, and the attitudes of local students towards Spanish are worse than their counterparts' (mean=4.24).

When comparing the language attitudes of participating parents with their children, the results in the case of autochthonous participants report the following:

Statistically significant differences can be found as regards attitudes towards Spanish ($t(297) = -9.39$, $p<.001$, $d=0.62$), where parents show better attitudes towards this language.

No statistically significant differences can be identified between parents' and their children's attitudes towards Catalan ($t(297) = -1.14, p = .255, d = 0.08$). In the case of immigrant families, the results were as follows:

Clearly, students have better attitudes towards Catalan than their parents ($t(177) = 5.06, p < .001, d = 0.49$).

No statistically significant differences can be identified between parents' and their children's attitudes towards Spanish ($t(177) = -0.98, p = .329, d = 0.09$).

Table 5 reports on the results of the analysis of the correlation between parents' and students' language attitudes towards the two languages considered in our study:

Table 5. Correlation between local parents' and students' attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

As can be seen, the results replicate the main findings found previously in Table 3. Hence, positive attitudes of local parents towards Catalan correlate positively with favourable perceptions of their children towards this language; a similar tendency is observed for Spanish, where the better attitude of parents correlates with good perceptions from their children. Again, we observe that the less favourable view of local parents towards one of the languages translates into more positive view of their children to the other language. Table 6 reports on the results of the correlation between immigrant parents' and students' attitudes:

Table 6. Correlation between immigrant parents' and students' attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

The results of this analysis suggest a relevant difference in the way parents' language attitudes modulate the development of students' perception on Spanish and Catalan: in the case of immigrant participants, there is a positive correlation between parents' and their children's attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish, although it is clearly lower (statistically less significant) than observed in the case of local families. In addition, the pattern detected in the attitudes of local families cannot be observed in immigrant parents and their children, so less favourable views towards one language by the parents does not translate into more favourable views of their children on the other language.

Discussion

This study examined the differences in language attitudes between autochthonous and immigrant families living in Catalonia towards the two official languages of the region (Spanish and Catalan). The paper is intended to provide new insights by investigating the variances between local and immigrant families and also by analysing the influence of family attitudes in the modelling of student language attitudes. The main findings of the current research are discussed in this section.

First, language attitudes in Catalonia in the case of autochthonous and immigrant families are globally positive towards Spanish and Catalan, with parents and students showing good perceptions of the two languages. However, we need to note that – according to our results – there are statistically significant differences showing that

parents report more favourable attitudes towards Spanish than to Catalan. The reporting of more positive views towards the state language (i.e. Spanish) is in line with prior research in the context of Catalonia (Bernaus et al. 2004; Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta 2013; Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2009) and other bilingual territories in Spain (Ibarrarán, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2008). This could be explained on the basis of the international prestige of Spanish and its prominence in institutional, educational, and professional settings. We also need to note that 12.2% of the students in our study come from Latin American countries, where Spanish is (in most cases) the mother tongue, and as has been reported place of birth is the variable that most clearly influences the attitudes of immigrants towards Spanish (Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés 2016); moreover, research concurs that Latin American immigrants are the group that show better attitudes towards Spanish and worse perceptions on Catalan in the region (Madariaga, Huguet, and Lapresta 2013).

Secondly, the results show that language attitudes of the parents correlate with those of the students. When parents show favourable attitudes towards Spanish or Catalan, students also report good perception of these languages. This is clearly seen in the case of autochthonous families, where statistically significant differences were found; furthermore, a negative correlation is observed when parents have a negative view of one of the languages, which is then translated into good language attitudes towards the other language by the students. This finding seems to corroborate that, for the sample of our study, family environment and parents' attitudes impact the development of students' language attitudes, and corroborates theoretical principles suggesting that the family environment is fundamental in shaping language attitudes (Huguet and González-Riaño 2004), a perception that had already been considered in other studies approaching attitudes in second-language learning (Hull 2002; Oliver and

Purdie 1998). However, the correlation between parents' and students' attitudes is diluted when considering immigrant families, where values are lower and differences are not statistically significant in most cases. In order to more fully explain this finding, we need to consider that autochthonous families engender language attitudes towards their own languages of the community, whereas immigrant families develop attitudes towards two second languages (which are in most cases foreign languages). In this framework, identitarian feelings can play a key role, since local citizens usually construct stronger identity bonds with Catalonia than immigrant subjects, as suggested by Lapresta, Huguet, and Janés (2010).

The results of our study show that there are no differences between parents' and their children's attitudes towards Catalan in the case of autochthonous families, although there are differences as regards Spanish, with parents showing more favourable attitudes. For immigrant participants, our study concludes that students have better attitudes than their parents towards Catalan, with no differences when addressing attitudes towards Spanish. These results do not entirely tally with prior research: for instance, Madariaga, Huguet and Lapresta (2013) focused on young local and immigrant students in Catalonia, establishing that autochthonous students showed better attitudes towards Catalan and were less enthusiastic about Spanish than their immigrant counterparts.

Conclusions and implications of the study

It is important to acknowledge that this is an introductory study on the influence of (autochthonous and immigrant) parents' languages attitudes on the attitudes of students in a bilingual context such as Catalonia. As such, the conclusions should be considered with caution, and need to be replicated in other geographical contexts with bigger samples. However, it is worth mentioning that the methodology used in this paper has

proven effective to meet the main objectives set for the study. In accordance with the theoretical framework considered and the methodology used, the following conclusions can be made:

First, it can be stated that no language conflicts in Catalonia are seen, since language attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish are especially positive in the case of local and immigrant families. The fact that some participants show better language attitudes towards Spanish could be understood in the sense that this is the state language with more prestige in cultural, political, and institutional settings. However, as we have confirmed in our study, this does not mean that attitudes towards Catalan are negative. Leaving aside other elements that may influence the shaping of language attitudes (personal needs, social and group identification, formal education, mass media, etc.), which fall out of the scope of this paper, the current research confirms that there is a correlation between the language attitudes of parents and their children towards the languages present in Catalonia, especially regarding the autochthonous population.

When considering the immigrant families in our study, we see that parents clearly show more negative attitudes towards Catalan; this result could be politically sensitive in Catalonia, suggesting a lack of information in immigrant families as regards the social and cultural value of Catalan in the region. Therefore, action lines and strategies could be required in the political, institutional, and educational spheres to transfer information which reflects the Catalan cultural reality with more precision and which facilitates the development of intercultural attitudes among immigrant parents. In this sense, campaigns and strategic actions could promote the integration of immigrants, taking a respectful approach towards their language and cultures of origin. The school context and, especially, parents' associations with the support of educational institutions, could be key agents in the promotion of activities that integrate local and

immigrant families to create an intercultural dialogue in which foreign families perceive their own cultural integration in Catalonia that takes into account their own culture of origin.

Prospective research lines include focusing on the study of the transfer of language attitudes between parents and their children in the immigrant communities. In addition, complementary studies can be designed using qualitative and ethnographic approaches to study the perceptions of the subjects (parents and their children) towards their attitudes to Catalan, Spanish and their mother tongue; the comparison with the foreign language taught at the school (English) may also deserve more attention from research. We expect that these research lines can be published in the short term to establish more suitable conclusions with more empirical and contextual support.

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For Peer Review

Origin	Frequency	%
European Union	49	10.3
Maghreb	44	9.2
Rest of Africa	9	1.9
Latin America	58	12.2
Asia and Oceania	18	3.8
Total	178	37.4

Table 1. Origin of immigrant families.

59x23mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review

		M	IQR
Parents	Attitudes towards Catalan	6.11	6
	Attitudes towards Spanish	7.03	5
Children	Attitudes towards Catalan	6.84	4.75
	Attitudes towards Spanish	5.15	5.75

Table 2. Attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

45x13mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review

		Students		Parents	
		Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish	Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish
Students	Attitudes towards Catalan	-			
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.30 p < .001	-		
Parents	Attitudes towards Catalan	.31 p < .001	-.29 p < .001	-	
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.10 p = .027	.29 p < .001	.09 p = .045	-

Table 3. Attitudes of families towards Catalan and Spanish.

69x30mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review

		Origin	N	M	IQR
Parents	Attitudes towards Catalan	Autochthonous	298	7.87	3
		Immigrant	178	3.17	6
	Attitudes towards Spanish	Autochthonous	298	7.05	5
		Immigrant	178	6.99	5
Sons	Attitudes towards Catalan	Autochthonous	298	7.61	4
		Immigrant	178	5.56	4
	Attitudes towards Spanish	Autochthonous	298	4.24	8
		Immigrant	178	6.67	3.25

Table 4. Attitudes of local and immigrant participants towards Catalan and Spanish.

80x41mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Review

Autochthonous		Students		Parents	
		Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish	Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish
Students	Attitudes towards Catalan	-			
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.36 p < .001	-		
Parents	Attitudes towards Catalan	.30 p < .001	-.33 p < .001	-	
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.18 p = .002	.35 p < .001	-.15 p = .010	-

Table 5. Correlation between local parents' and students' attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

70x31mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review

Immigrant		Students		Parents	
		Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish	Attitudes towards Catalan	Attitudes towards Spanish
Students	Attitudes towards Catalan	-			
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.07 p = .325	-		
Parents	Attitudes towards Catalan	.15 p = .045	-.03 p = .670	-	
	Attitudes towards Spanish	-.01 p = .911	.18 p = .015	.38 p < .001	-

Table 6. Correlation between immigrant parents' and students' attitudes towards Catalan and Spanish.

69x30mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Peer Review